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ABSTRACT

The political and educational rationales for bilingual education in the United States and the implications of transitional and maintenance programs are examined. Following a period of adherence to English-only instruction which resulted in academic failure for minority children, support grew for the concept of bilingual education. The provisions of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, the revised Act of 1974, the Lau versus Nichols decision, and the Lau regulations are described. The underlying assumptions, goals, and methodologies of transitional and maintenance bilingual education are compared. Transitional bilingual education utilizes native language instruction only as a remedial approach to the learning of English, while maintenance bilingual education recognizes the value of minority students' cultural and linguistic resources and seeks to develop skills in two languages. Although the transitional and maintenance models are similar in their goals and methodology, their underlying philosophies are mutually exclusive. In conclusion, it is important to determine which aspects of each model are most beneficial to the student and implement the most effective combined approach. A list of references is appended. (RW)

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Bilingual Education Tradition in the U.S. Transition vs. Maintenance Models

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The purpose of this paper is to review the political and educational rationale for bilingual education in the United States. Its focus is on the implications of transitional vs. maintenance bilingual education programs.

The Bilingual Education tradition in the United States may be divided into three periods. The first period occurred prior to World War I(1800-1917). It can be characterized as a time of tolerance, when bilingual instruction was often the rule rather than the exception (Jorgenson, 1956, Faust, 1969, [Cited in Leibowitz 1971]; Kloss, 1970; Fishman, 1976). With the many waves of immigration which characterized the U. S. expansionist period, persons of varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds settled in the same or in geographically close communities, making it possible for local school programs to be implemented in the language of the majority.

With the common need for education, both public and private schools which serviced the non-English or limited-English speaking population began to emerge. Some of these schools were unusual in that they allowed non-English languages as mediums of instruction. The more common practice, however, was to allow the teaching of the native language as a separate subject. (Anderson, 1970).

The second period occurred as the U.S. entered the twentieth century. As a result of armed conflict and renewed patriotism a new language policy intended to unify a multiplicity of language groups began to be formulated. Ostensibly, it grew out of the government's efforts to unify the nation under a common language, which was expected to foster like attitudes and values. The policy which came to be known as the "English-only policy" (Leibowitz, 1971) was equally applied across minority language groups. The externalization of this policy became most evident in the schooling of German-Americans, Native-Americans, Puerto Ricans, etc., who were forced to learn English. In each case little thought was given to the implications of educating in a non-native language.

The underlying reasons for such a policy lay in the post-war attitude of English speaking Americans who increasingly reacted to the large immigration of groups considered to be "irreconcilably" alien to the prevailing concept of American culture. (Leibowitz, 1971). Those considered in this category generally came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan countries. In many cases they were considered illiterate because they spoke "strange" languages and dialects (Hartmen, p. 7).

Although scholastic achievement statistics indicated that scores of students failed in the "English-only" system (Sanchez, 1940; The Invisible Minority, 1966; Samora, 1960), it was not until the late

1950's and early 1960's that political attention came to be focused on this situation. The transition to the third period, came about as the result of several converging events. The most significant one, which initiated a chain reaction, was the launching of Sputnik. It brought about resurgance of federal concern for quality education in languages and sciences. This event, in effect, tilled the ground for passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act which has the purpose to provide additional educational support for children from low income families. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's also focused attention on the educational situation of all minorities. In 1965 Congress passed the voting Rights Act (42 USC 1973 b), which set the stage for a new language policy. Revised in 1975, the Voting Rights Act states:

> The Congress finds that voting discrimination against citizens of language minorities is pervasive and national in scope. Such minority citizens are from environments in which the dominant language is other than English. In addition they have been denied equal educational opportunities by State and local governments, resulting in severe disabilities and continuing illiteracy in the English language. (1975 Amendment, Section f).

The fact that large numbers of Mexican-American students were not succeeding in the traditional unilingual school system was evident. The disclosure of this fact (U.S. Civil Rights Documents, 1971-1978) in conjunction with the immigration of thousands of Cuban refugees and the already large numbers of Puerto Rican students in New York and other Eastern seaboard areas brought to consciousness the multiplying educational problems of all language minority students ("The Way We Go, 1970).

In the search for a solution, state educators as well as state and federal legislators began to initiate support of the concept of bilingual education. They came to hold the position that equal educational opportunity for students whose language was other than English should become the responsibility of the federal government in partnership with the states ("Politics", 1969).

During these early phases of consciousness awakening, reluctant to accept the concept of bilingual education, the OE (Office of Education) insisted on supporting Title I remedial education programs as the solution to the educational problems of the non-English speaking student. OE attitudes began to change only when statistics demonstrated that increased funding of such programs did not correct the basic literacy problems of students who were not native English speakers.

The third era was thus established with the political acceptance of the concept of bilingual education. It came as the result of evidence presented to the Senate as well as presidential committment to the cause of bettering educational opportunities for non-English speaking students. Acting on the information presented, in January 1968, the Bilingual Education Act was adopted by the U.S. Congress as an amendment to the existing ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) legislation. Its passage provided for the creation and federal support of Bilingual Education Programs for limited and non-English-speaking students on a limited basis. The 1974 Equal Educational Opportunities Act supports the concept that public school students are entitled to equal educational opportunities regardless of race, color, sex, or national origin.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the revised Act of 1974 define bilingual education as a program of instruction that "is designed to teach...children in English and to teach in (the native) language so that they can progress effectively through school". (Bilingual Education: An Unmet Need, p.i.).

Language was found to be particularly significant in the education of limited English-speaking students in the 1974 San Francisco court case of Lau v. Nichols. In this instance, with the U.S. Assistant Attorney General as amicus curiae, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the negative decision of the Federal District Court and the Appeals Court.

It ruled that:

> The failure of the San Francisco School System to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English... denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates §601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 (p. 563).

Specifically, in the Court's opinion:

> Under these state imposed standards, there is no equality of treatment by providing students with the same facilities, teachers, textbooks, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. Thus in accord with the Lau decision, language needs of "national origin minority group children must be stressed in order to meet...language skills needs as soon as possible and not to keep them in programs that operate as an educational dead-end or permanent tract" (p. 568).

In complying with the court's opinion, the San Francisco Unified School District, along with a citizens' task force, designed guidelines for school districts to follow in the case of students whose

"home language is other than English." Some months later Congress codified the decision as part of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977). The Office of Civil Rights adopted guidelines which have come to be known as the Lau Remedies ("Task Force," 1975). They specify that students be identified through language usage questionnaires as:

A. Monolingual speakers of the language other than English
B. Predominantly speaks the language other than English
C. Bilingual
D. Predominantly speaks English
E. Monolingual speaker of English

Based on the general category in which a student falls, educational programs are then designed and matched to student needs.

While the Bilingual Education Act and the Lau Decision (1974), at the Federal level, support the efforts of bilingual educators, Congress continues to press for results which will validate the government's endeavor to support bilingual students in the educational process. Specifically, statistical data that documents the effects of bilingual education is sought. For this reason, in the extension of the Bilingual Education Act through the Education Amendments of 1978, there is an effort to clarify who is to be serviced through bilingual education.

According to the new regulations, students who are eligible for bilingual education are no longer defined as being of "limited English speaking ability" but rather to be of "limited English proficiency" ("Education Amendments," 1978, p. 69). This alteration in definition refocuses the previous emphasis on oral proficiency. They specifically state that both oracy and literacy skills must be considered. In other words, language proficiency, according to the amendments, includes all language skills, i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing.

The language of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act provides the philosophical direction for bilingual education in the U.S.. Programs are to be "designed to meet the special needs of children from families (A) with low incomes below $3,000 per year, or (B) receiving payments under a program of aid to families with dependent children" (Bilingual Education Act, 1968).

With this emphasis bilingual education has come to be seen as remedial/compensatory. While the 1968 Act supported the creation of "imaginative programs" which could include native English speakers, the covert guideline was to design programs which would bring the limited English speaker to achieve academically as well or better than his or her English speaking counterparts.

The resulting philosophy is reflected in the Title of the 1971 Massachusetts Act - The Transitional Bilingual Education Law (Two Way, 1971). The major characteristics of this transitional philosophy are that it is remedial and transitory, and that it is intended to correct the linguistic handicaps of disadvantaged limited English speaking students. English proficiency is the ultimate goal. Native English speaking students are seldom involved because the goal of the educational program is perceived to be remedial rather than enrichment. The concept of multilingualism is weakly, if at all, promoted. (Gonzalez, 1975).

The transitional approach emphasizes native language instruction, insofar as there is assurance that this is a means to the learning of English. There is limited recognition of the richness of the native language. The economic guidelines of the Bilingual Education legislation support the stereotype that limited English speaking children come from a lower socioeconomic status, and thus require remedial/compensatory programs.

In general the goal of the program is to have the students learn English as quickly as possible. The native language is viewed as necessary only until the student has a command of English.
This approach signals negative tolerance of the student's native language and culture. Further, it suggests that the "regular" monolingual program represents the standard which must be achieved.

The concept of maintenance bilingual education, on the other hand, recognizes the richness of the linguistic and cultural resource of the "limited-English" speakers of the U.S... Characteristics of this approach are its emphasis on the development of skills in two languages, the native language and the second language. The program is planned so that English language skills are developed while skills in the second language are maintained. The native language and culture is considered to be an asset to be maintained and developed. Native English speaking students may or may not be involved in the program.

The native language is used for content instruction. There most probably is a conscious effort to integrate the history and culture of the target group with American history and values. The ultimate goal is to produce bilingual/bicultural persons who are able to perform appropriately in two linguistic and cultural mediums or settings.

The question initially posed is: Are transitional and maintenance philosophies and methodologies diametrically opposed? In order to examine this issue, the underlying assumptions and methodologies of each are compared.

Transitional Bilingual Education:

Assumptions: A separate model of language proficiency (Cummins, 1980) underlies the concept of transitional bilingual education (TBE). This model supports the concept of the "single space" theory, which endorses one of two interpretations. The first is that as proficiency in one language increases, proficiency in a second language decreases (MacNamara, 1962). The second is that an individual's brain has room for only one language code (Stewart, 1971). The assumption is made that there is only a limited amount of space in the brain for language. The implication of either interpretation is that extended training in any language detracts from English acquisition.

A corollary assumption is that the proficiencies underlying language skills are separate. In other words, the skills developed in one language are not thought to affect skills in the second language. Thus, in the U.S. this may be interpreted to mean that instruction in a non-English language is viewed as detrimental rather than beneficial, or subtractive rather than additive (Lambert, 1972)

Support for these assumptions are found in current news articles, (Ornstein, 1979; Quigg, 1978; Epstein, 1977) in commentaries such as Noel Epsteins' Language Ethnicity and the Schools, and in the OE's funding of the Entry-Exit study.

Goals: According to the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, the global goal of bilingual education is to meet the educational needs of children. Specifically the goal is to demonstrate effective ways of providing instruction designed to enable children of limited English-speaking ability achieve competence in the English language while using their native language (Bilingual Education Act, 1974). Acknowledging its transitional nature, Ch. 71A, The Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Law, describes one of its major goals to be: development of oral comprehension, speaking, reading and writing of English,... The program shall be a full-time program and shall be up to three years duration for each student" (p. 3).

In this system there is little regard for the student's native language. It is not considered valuable after the student has become English speaking. Little, if any, effort is made to build on the natural language ability of the student.

In both the Title VII legislation and in the Massachusetts Transitional legislation, the cultural dimension of education for the non-English speaking student is recognized. In the federal legislation it is stated that programs should be "designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their languages". The state legislation supports instruction in the history and culture of

the student's primary language and maintains that the history of the U.S. is an integral component of the program.

While the cultural dimension is recognized in the transitional model, the central goal is to educate the student in the second language so as to expedite entrance into a monolingual program, or as the term transition implies, to bridge two languages and cultures. Thus in this model cultural aspects are often utilized as a one way bridge to achieve the overall goal.

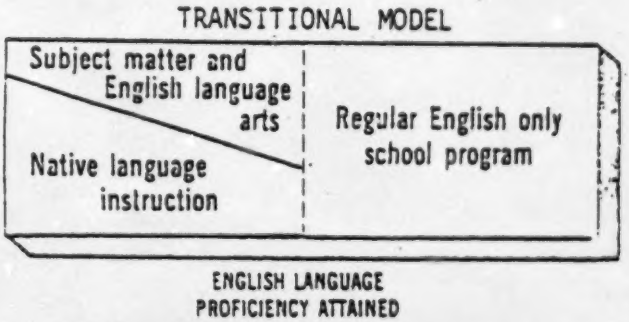
By implication the overall goal of this model is to eliminate dependence on the native language while making the individual much more dependent on the second language. In other words it is subtractive (Lambert, 1972) or assimilationist (Kjolesth, 1973) in nature. It in no way attempts to provide the resources or the backup to make the bridge interdirectional because it is assumed that this educational process is remedial rather than enriching.

Methodology: Both federal and state legislation mandates leave implementation of bilingual programs to school district directives as well as to the practitioners' understanding of what should be done. In both federal and state cases, legislation preceded research. Thus implementation often has been based on local education agencies' educational practices, intuition, and/or understanding of general teaching

principles. Such application may or may not take into consideration language and culture, the two unique factors involved in the bilingual educational process.

The methodology of transitional bilingual education is described in Figure 1. It illustrates the limited emphasis on native language instruction. The model used by the Office of Education only provides an overall view of a bilingual program model. It does not attempt to describe the complexity of implemented models.

FIGURE 1


TRANSITIONAL MODEL
Subject matter and English language arts
Native language instruction
Regular English only school program
ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ATTAINED

(The Bilingual Story, Office of Bilingual Education, 1979)

In order to facilitate understanding of the transitional model, methodologies which are common in the model are described. It should be kept in mind that the transitional model has as its central philosophy "less is more". That is, this model promotes what has commonly been

termed the mismatch hypothesis. The perspective supports the concept: if the home language is different from the school langauge, learning will be retarded. (Cummins, 1980).

It should be understood that the methods utilized in bilingual education programs vary with the circumstances. They vary with the distribution of the languages in the curriculum, the availability and utility of resources, and the method of grouping and classifying the students.

The methodologies which are common in transitional programs incorporate many common teaching methodologies. For example they include the group process approach and the learning center approach, the individualized instructional approach, etc.. The language of instruction may be one (Direct Approach), two (Dual Approach), or mixed (Eclectic Approach).

In the transitional model the direct approach, the most limited in form, would in reality be parallel to an English as a second language model where the students are taught language and content skills exclusively in the second language.

In the dual language approach several alternatives exist. One language can be taught simultaneously with emphasis given to the second

language. In the content areas, one language may be used primarily; special terms may be given to the other. Both languages may be used at all times. One language may be used initially and the second gradually introduced.

In the eclectic approach a combination of the direct and dual language methods may be used. Consistency and forethought of language use may or may not exist. Whatever method or methods are utilized the measure of ultimate success is the student's degree of language proficiency upon exiting the program.

As one reflects on these many options it becomes clear that the decisions for program implementation of the transitional model are hardly single faceted. The fact is that the political ambience, the philosophical orientation and the program parameters (i.e., available personnel, facilities, budget, etc.) will, in the long run, guide and influence program implementation.

Maintenance Bilingual Education

Assumptions: A major underlying assumption of the maintenance bilingual education model is the Integrated Proficiency Model. It supports the concept that proficiency is interdependent across languages. This means adherence to the proposition that an increase in achievement in

one language will not retard and can in fact enhance acquisition and achievement of skills in a second language.

Canadian evaluation studies support this position (See Caneli and Swain, 1979, for a bibliography). The studies have demonstrated that the language skills of the students who have participated in the French immersion programs may lag in English language skills in the early stages of learning. By fourth or fifth grade, however, these differences have disappeared (Swain, 1979). In the higher grades it is often found that these students perform better than their monolingual English-educated counterparts.

Another assumption of the maintenance model is that it is additive (Lambert, 1972). That is, it supports a positive philosophical perspective which provides a positive orientation to both instructor and learner. From this philosophical perspective, the individual learner's language and cultural heritage are accepted and even posited by the educational establishment.

In this case, rather than forming a one-way bridge, as in the transitional model, a two-way, interdirectional bridge is developed. This implies equal development of language skills and cultural understanding.

One other assumption is that the maintenance model is one of enrichment. From this perspective it is not felt necessary to isolate or to restrict enrollment of the program to ethnics whose native language background is other than English.

Goals: The major goals of maintenance bilingual program proponents are: to acknowledge and posit students' cultural and linguistic background, and to provide an opportunity for all students to learn a second language while maintaining and/or improving their native language skills.

A secondary goal which actually grows out of the first is the enhancement of self-image and motivation. In this regard it has been demonstrated that school holding power, or the ability to keep students from dropping out is much greater with the maintenance approach (Cohen, 1975).

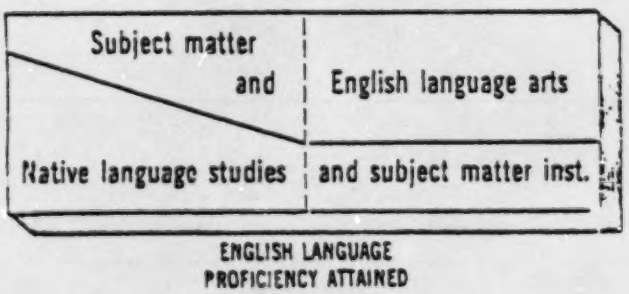
In the maintenance model the learner is not restricted to the ethnic experience. Since the program is understood to be of an enrichment type, students of many language backgrounds may be learners in the same program. This approach represents a philosophy which is diametrically opposed to the "melting pot" concept. As Gonzalez, Director of the Office of Bilingual Education puts it, "The underlying assumption is that all constituencies of education benefit from an active participation in and appreciation of each others' backgrounds" (1975, p. 15).

Thus it may be said that overall the goal of maintenance bilingual education is to provide living evidence that bilingual education can and does produce balanced, creative individuals, capable of performing (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, writing) "thinking and feeling in two languages independently" (Ramos and Gonzalez, 1978, p. 59).

Methodology: While the methodology in every maintenance bilingual education program is not exactly the same, Figure 2 describes the delicate balance between the native language and English. In this model, the transition to the second language and the maintenance of the first language are controlled so as not to create any imbalance in the learning of content and in the acquisition of the second language.

FIGURE 2

MAINTENANCE MODEL



(The Bilingual Story, Office of Bilingual Education, 1979)

The methodology for the maintenance model includes the approaches described in the transitional model (e.g., the group process approach and the learning center approach). In the maintenance model some form of the dual language approach is utilized. (See TBE - methodology for description).

Analysis: Are transitional and maintenance bilingual education approaches dichotomous? It would appear at first glance that perhaps they are. The basic premise or assumption - separate vs. integrative language proficiency model - on which each is based is polar. Where the transitional model promotes a subtractive form or a one-way bridge to bilingualism, the maintenance model promotes an additive form or a two-way bridge. The goal of the maintenance model incorporates the goal of the transitional model while the transitional model does not encompass the maintenance goals. Conversely, the transitional methodology incorporates that of the maintenance model, while it does not include the transitional model option of the direct approach.

Figure 3

TRANSITIONAL VS. MAINTENANCE

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

	Transitional	vs.	Maintenance
Assumptions	•separate model of language proficiency		•integrated Language Proficiency Model
	•proficiencies underlying language skills are separate		•increase in achievement in one language will not retard skills in a second language

Goals		
	'to achieve competence in the English language	'to achieve competence in both the native language and in English
Methodology	'direct dual or mixed language approach	'dual language approach

Are they dichotomous then? From the breakdown just presented it would appear that the transitional and maintenance models on the surface level are not mutually exclusive or dichotomous. Goals and methodology are certainly similar. The component that can be isolated, and which leads to the conclusion that the models philosophically are mutually exclusive, is the basic assumption . This understanding is significant.

On the deep level, the program philosophies or assumptions, make the two models dichotomous. The philosophical perspective strongly affects planning, management, and product. Although the methodologies may be the same, the program orientation will most certainly make a difference in linguistic, cultural and social attitudes.

The philosophical perspective from which the issue or issues of bilingual education are perceived will and does most certainly make a difference in program implementation. In the final analysis, although the transitional and maintenance models are similar, they are, mutually exclusive in their most important feature - philosophy.

In the reality of the implementation process, the differences between the two models are often clouded. Several factors contribute to this situation. Regardless of program model, the personal philosophy of program implementors and educators (teachers, program assistants and specialists) often effects what occurs in the classroom. Program implementors guide their personnel and establish policy which may or may not coincide with the bilingual education philosophy to be implemented. Educators' orientation and skills also affect the overall program design and philosophy.

In this regard, it is not unknown for educators to subtly, yet pervasively, alter the overall program orientation. Thus from the practical perspective the two models are not necessarily dichotomous, but are subject to implementors' and educators' interpretation.

In summary, from a philosophical perspective, transitional and maintenance bilingual education models are mutually exclusive. From a practical implementation perspective, however, they are not necessarily dichotomous.

Perhaps the real question is: "Should they be dichotomous in all aspects?" From a practitioner's perspective, at this time in the development of bilingual education, it is my opinion that we should live with the ambiguity described. It provides the opportunity for implementation of a variety of models. Only when research evidence demonstrates

the overall effects of either or both models and their variations will it be possible to make decisions about implementation based on program effects as well as on philosophical issues.

Regardless of the evidence gathered, it is my opinion that components of both models will remain interrelated. A transitional model may or may not (depending on the educators' philosophy) take on a maintenance orientation. A maintenance model will at some point incorporate aspects of the transitional model in order to achieve its goals.

The point, it seems to me, is not whether the two models are dichotomous, but rather what elements of both models are most effective (as demonstrated by research evidence) in the long run for the student. After all, the point of developing or implementing any bilingual education model is, in fact to benefit the student.

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